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	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OCS-06	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0495  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 002299

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PREL, SCUL, PREF, KDEM, MOPS, RW  
 SUBJECT: RWANDA'S TUTSIS: A GLIMPSE BEHIND THE  
 LOOKING GLASS

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. THE RETURN OF THE TUTSI DIASPORA HAS NOT  
 CREATED A HOMOGENOUS MASS. THE RETURNEES BEAR THE  
 LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL STAMP OF THEIR MOST RECENT COUNTRY  
 OF SOJOURN, AND THIS HAS CREATED STRAINS AMONG THEM AND  
 GENERATED NEGATIVE STEREOTYPES. THESE CENTRIFUGAL FORCES

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REVIEW

AUTHORITY: ROBERT R. STRAND

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ARE BALANCED AGAINST THE CENTRIPETAL FACT OF THE GENOCIDE. THE DEEPLY TRAUMATIZED TUTSI POPULATION HAS IN REACTION ASSEMBLED IN DISCRETE ENCLAVES, A PROCESS SUPPORTED BY HARDLINERS BUT NOT OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED BY EITHER THE GOR OR THE RPF. THE MOST EXTREME ELEMENTS MAY DREAM OF A NEW TUTSILAND, BUT THE MORE PRAGMATIC MAJORITY REALIZES THAT NUMBERS AND ECONOMIC REALITIES MILITATE AGAINST THIS. THE TUTSIS ARE DETERMINED NOT TO FALL UNDER HUTU DOMINATION AND THE RENEWED THREAT OF ETHNIC EXTERMINATION AGAIN; THE HUTU COMMUNITY IS EQUALLY OPPOSED TO RENEWED TUTSI PRIMACY. EACH SIDE SEES ITSELF AS THE HISTORICAL VICTIM AND SEEKS REDRESS AND INTERNATIONAL APPROBATION. THIS ATTITUDE LEAVES LITTLE ROOM FOR MEANINGFUL RECONCILIATION. END SUMMARY.

### 3. THE DIASPORA COMES HOME

THE TUTSIS WHO FLED ABROAD IN THE VIOLENT UPHEAVALS OF 1959, 1968, AND 1972-1973 AND THEIR OFFSPRING ARE BACK IN FORCE. THE AUTHOR HAS CHANCED UPON OLD ACQUAINTANCES FROM ELSEWHERE IN THE STREETS OF KIGALI: A TRAVEL AGENCY OWNER FROM BUKAVU, A BANKER FROM LUMBUMBASHI, A DOCTOR FROM KINSHASA, A U.N. OFFICIAL FROM BANGUI, AND A UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR FROM BUJUMBURA. THIS DOES NOT INCLUDE THE EVEN GREATER VOLUME WHO HAVE RETURNED FROM ANGLOPHONE EAST AFRICA. THERE ARE CONFLICTING FIGURES FOR THE TOTAL NUMBER OF "OLD" RETURNEES, BUT A SAFE ESTIMATE LIES BETWEEN 400,00 AND 600,000.

### 4. THE TOWER OF BABEL SYNDROME

THE HOMECOMING HAS NOT CREATED A SEAMLESS TUTSI FRONT. RETURNEES, ESPECIALLY THOSE BORN OR RAISED ABROAD, HAVE

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 BROUGHT BACK DIFFERENT MINDSETS, HABITS AND VALUES. THE MOST GLARING DIVIDE IS LINGUISTIC, CENTERED UPON THE ANGLOPHONE-FRANCOPHONE RIFT. ON THE SURFACE, THIS MANIFESTS ITSELF IN PUBLIC EVENTS WHERE FIFTY PER CENT OF THE AUDIENCE DOES NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT IT BEING SAID AT ANY GIVEN TIME. THE BRIDGING LANGUAGE, KINYARWANDA, WORKS FOR INTERNAL EVENTS SUCH AS CABINET MEETINGS BUT AT PUBLIC OCCASIONS LEAVES FOREIGNERS IN THE DARK. ADD TO THIS STEW A

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SMATTERING OF SWAHILI AND YOU HAVE RADIO KIGALI, A  
POLYGLOT'S FEAST.

5. A LINGUISTIC MINORITY, THE ANGLOPHONES NONETHELESS ENJOY DISPROPORTIONATE POLITICAL POWER. A FAIR NUMBER OF RPF LEADERS ARE BILINGUAL IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH, BUT SENIOR RPF/RPA ANGLOPHONES COMPRISE A VIRTUAL WHO'S WHO OF THE POLICY APPARATUS: KAGAME, INYUMBA, KAREMERA, MAZIMHAKA, ET AL. KAGAME IN PARTICULAR IS SENSITIVE TO THE LINGUISTIC PROBLEM AND HAS GONE OUT OF HIS WAY TO TELL BELGIAN FRANCOPHONE OFFICIALS THAT HE INTENDS TO LEARN FRENCH AND SCHOOL HIS CHILDREN IN THE LANGUAGE.

6. THE LINGUISTIC FISSURE SPLITS ALONG SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS, AND IDEOLOGICAL LINES AS WELL. MANY FRANCOPHONE TUTSIS WERE SALARIED CITY DWELLERS: BUSINESSMEN, EDUCATORS, THE LIBERAL PROFESSIONS. UGANDAN ANGLOPHONE TUTSIS WERE WELL REPRESENTED IN THE PROFESSIONS, BUT MANY OF THEM FOLLOWED OLD PASTORALIST TRADITIONS, A TRAIT COMMON TO THE TUTSIS OF RUTSHURU AND MASISI IN NORTH KIVU AND IN THE RWANDAN COLLINES.

7. RELIGION IS ANOTHER CLEAR DIVIDE. FRANCOPHONE TUTSIS  
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ARE OVERWHELMINGLY CATHOLIC IN BELIEF AND PRACTICE. THE RELIGION DID NOT FOLLOW THE DIASPORA NORTH INTO UGANDA; AS A RESULT, PROTESTANT AND LIMITED MUSLIM INFLUENCES SPREAD AMONG THIS GROUP. THERE ARE ALSO MANY NON-BELIEVERS, A RARE PHENOMENON IN RWANDA.

8. THE DIFFERENT NATIONAL BACKGROUNDS CAN ALSO BE CHARTED THROUGH DIFFERENT IDEOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL VALUES. THE ANGLOPHONE 59ERS HAVE PROMOTED THE NOTION OF "THE BANYARWANDA PEOPLE" WITHOUT DISTINCTION TO ETHNIC BACKGROUND, A DIVISIVE PRACTICE THAT THEY BLAME ON COLONIAL POLITICS. THE ZAIRE AND BURUNDI 73ERS -- THE LATTER ESPECIALLY, HAVING LIVED THROUGH THE RECENT ETHNIC FLARE-UPS IN THAT COUNTRY -- ARE VISIBLY UNENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE RPF PARTY LINE. THE SURVIVING RWANDAN TUTSIS WE HAVE SPOKEN WITH DO NOT COUNTENANCE IT AT ALL.

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9. THIS WELTER OF LANGUAGES, CUSTOMS AND ATTITUDES HAS CREATED CONFUSION, FRICTION, AND FERTILE GROUND FOR STEREOTYPES. TUTSI SURVIVORS COMPLAIN THAT THEY PAID FOR THE RPF VICTORY WITH THE LOSS OF THEIR FAMILIES AND GOODS; THEY RESENT INSINUATIONS FROM HARDLINE RETURNEES THAT MANY OF THEM SURVIVED THROUGH COLLABORATION. THE BURUNDIANS, WHO HELPED FINANCE THE RPF MILITARY CAMPAIGN, HAVE RUSHED IN TO SET UP BUSINESSES AND SEIZE LAND AND PROPERTY. THEY ARE

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VIEWED BY "NATIVE" RWANDANS -- BOTH HUTU AND TUTSI -- AS  
AGGRESSIVE CARPETBAGGERS. EVERYONE AGREES THAT ZAIRE HAS  
HAD A DELETERIOUS EFFECT UPON THE BUSINESS ETHICS OF TUTSIS  
RETURNED FROM THERE. THE CATHOLIC FRANCOPHONES COMPLIMENT  
THE GOOD MANNERS OF UGANDAN RETURNEES BUT FREQUENTLY LABEL  
THEM -- ESPECIALLY THE RPF -- "ATHEISTS", LEFTIST  
IDEOLOGUES, AND ANTI-FEMINIST THROWBACKS TO AN EARLIER TIME.  
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WE HAVE HEARD NUMEROUS COMPLAINTS FROM FRANCOPHONE TUTSI  
WOMEN ABOUT THE NEGATIVE ANGLOPHONE ATTITUDES TOWARD SHORT  
SKIRTS AND THE FRENCH-INSPIRED HABIT OF EXCHANGING KISSES IN  
GREETING.

10. CIRCLE THE WAGONS ANYWAY  
-----

AN ANECDOTE WILL SERVE THE POINT. A TUTSI WOMAN WHO HAS  
NEVER LIVED OUTSIDE OF RWANDA (AND WHO LOST EVERY MEMBER OF  
HER IMMEDIATE NATAL FAMILY IN THE GENOCIDE) RECENTLY  
DESCRIBED THE SITUATION WHEN SHE RETURNED TO KIGALI FROM  
[REDACTED] WHERE SHE HAD SOUGHT REFUGE BEHIND RPA LINES DURING  
THE APRIL TO JUNE PERIOD. AN RPA ANGLOPHONE [REDACTED]  
NAMED [REDACTED] WAS LIVING IN HER HOUSE, WHICH HAD BEEN  
PARTIALLY LOOTED. WHEN SHE EXPLAINED HER PLIGHT, THE  
[REDACTED] OFFERED TO MOVE OUT AND GIVE HER ALL THE  
FURNITURE IN THE HOUSE, MUCH OF WHICH HAD BEEN LOOTED  
ELSEWHERE. SHE SAID THAT [REDACTED] A MUSLIM, WAS DEEPLY  
OFFENDED AT THE HOUSE "REWARMING" DINNER IN HIS HONOR  
BECAUSE UNBEKNOWNST TO HIM, SHE HAD PUT PORK IN THE POT OF  
BEANS, A TRADITIONAL RWANDAN RECIPE.

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11. SHE NEXT TRIED TO RECUPERATE HER [REDACTED]  
WHICH HAD BEEN APPROPRIATED BY RETURNEES FROM BURUNDI. THE  
SQUATTERS REFUSED TO DISCUSS HER CLAIM AND MENACED HER

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PHYSICALLY WHEN SHE ATTEMPTED TO TAKE SOME OF THE SHOP'S  
EQUIPMENT, CALLING HER A TRAITOR AND CHARGING THAT SHE  
SURVIVED ONLY BECAUSE SHE AND HER HUTU HUSBAND -- A MODERATE  
[REDACTED] WHO BARELY ESCAPED THE SLAUGHTER HIMSELF --  
HAD COLLABORATED WITH THE INTERHAMWE.

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12. BITTER THOUGH THEY MAY BE, SUCH DIVISIONS ARE  
OVERSHADOWED BY THE FACT OF THE GENOCIDE AND THE EMOTION IT  
ENGENDERS IN THE

TUTSI COMMUNITY. FEAR AND LOATHING IS NOT  
TOO STRONG A TERM. TUTSI AND TO A LESSER DEGREE MODERATE  
HUTU FACTIONAL DIFFERENCES ARE IMMEDIATELY LAID ASIDE WHEN  
THE GENOCIDE WORD IS SPOKEN. THE FLOODGATES OF ANECDOTAL  
ATROCITY OPEN; THE LIST OF DEAD FAMILY AND FRIEND REELS OUT.  
THERE IS OUTRAGE AND IMMEDIATE SOLIDARITY ON THE NEED TO  
METE OUT JUSTICE TO THOSE WHO PLANNED AND DROVE THE KILLING.  
AN UNSPOKEN CURRENT OF REVENGE UNDERLIES.

13. THE FEAR WITHIN THE TUTSI COMMUNITY MATCHES ITS ANGER.  
FOR MODERATE HUTUS, WHO FEAR HARM FROM BOTH HUTU AND TUTSI  
EXTREMES, THE FEAR PREVAILS.

14. THE QUESTION OF GREATER TUTSILAND  
-----

AS THE TUTSIS RETURN, THERE IS THE ENIGMA OF WHAT THESE  
RETICENT PEOPLE ACTUALLY INTEND. OUR CONVERSATIONS HAVE  
REVEALED A CONFUSING DIVERGENCE OF VIEW. THE EXTREMIST  
FRINGE OF THE RPF/RPA CLEARLY DESIRES TUTSI DOMINATION OF  
THE ENTIRE COUNTRY. MO  
RE MODERATE ELEMENTS CALL FOR POWER-  
SHARING WITH MODERATE HUTUS AND A NATIONWIDE RECONCILIATION  
AT SOME STILL UNDEFINED LEVEL. NO TUTSI WE HAVE SPOKEN TO  
-- AND FEW HUTU -- SUPPORTS THE PARTICIPATION OF HUTU  
HARDLINERS AT ANY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT.

15. THE EVIDENCE CONFIRMS THE GROUPING OF RETURNING TUTSIS  
IN CERTAIN PARTS OF THE COUNTRY AND IN URBAN AREAS. KIGALI  
IS OVERFLOWING WITH NEWLY ARRIVED TUTSIS, AS IS BUTARE.

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THERE ARE RELIABLE REPORTS OF TUTSIS CONGREGATING AROUND  
KIBUNGO AND IN OTHER AREAS OF THE SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST. A  
LARGE NUMBER OF TUTSIS PASTORALISTS HAVE GATHERED IN THE  
OPEN SAVANNAH AREAS NEAR THE AKAGERA PARK IN THE NORTHEAST.  
THE UNANSWERED QUESTION IS WHETHER THIS IS PART OF A LARGER  
PLAN TO CARVE OUT A GREATER "TUTSILAND".

16. CERTAIN EXTREMIST ELEMENTS WOULD LIKE TO SEE THIS  
OUTCOME, BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THEY PRESENTLY CONTROL  
EITHER GOR OR RPF POLICY. WE HAVE HEARD THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NUMBERS AMONG THESE. HE  
ALLEGEDLY ORGANIZED THE RAPID MOVEMENT OF LARGE NUMBER OF  
RWANDAN TUTSIS CIRCA 1959 AND 1973 FROM BUJUMBURA TO THE  
AREA AROUND BUTARE, THE TUTSI HEARTLAND IN THE COLONIAL AND  
PRECOLONIAL ERAS. WE ARE CERTAIN -- ALTHOUGH WE CAN OFFER  
NO HARD PROOF -- THAT THE RPF APPROVED IF NOT ORCHESTRATED  
THE RAPID RETURN OF THE DIASPORA TO REBUILT ITS TUTSI  
CONSTITUENCY, WHICH HAD BEEN DECIMATED BY THE GENOCIDE.

17. HOWEVER, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THAT THE RPF,  
AND CERTAINLY NOT THE GOR AT LARGE, HAS SET OUT TO DRIVE THE  
HUTU POPULATION INTO EXILE. MORE LIKELY EXPLANATIONS OF THE  
GROUPING PHENOMENON ARE VOCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS, PREFERENCE  
FOR URBAN ENVIRONMENTS, AND STRENGTH IN NUMBERS. A VISIT TO  
THE VAST, ROLLING GRASSLANDS OF THE AKAGERA SUFFICES TO

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EXPLAIN THE ASSEMBLAGE OF TUTSI PASTORALISTS FROM UGANDA AND THEIR ANKOLE HERDS. BUJUMBURA AND KINSHASA RETURNEES CAME TO KIGALI AND BUTARE BECAUSE THEY ARE URBANITES FROM YOUTH, NOT FARMERS OR HERDERS, AND HAVE NO SKILLS FOR SURVIVING IN THE COLLINES. THERE IS FINALLY THE PHENOMENON OF SECURITY IN NUMBERS. SEVERAL OF OUR "NATIVE RWANDAN" TUTSI INTERLOCUTORS ADMIT THAT THEY ARE AFRAID TO LIVE AS A

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MINORITY AMONG HUTUS IN OUTLYING AREAS AND FOR NOW WILL NOT RETURN TO THEIR FORMER ABODES.

18. OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH SENIOR GOR AND RPF CIVILIAN OFFICIALS REVEAL UNDERLYING POLITICAL REALISM. MOST ARE AWARE THAT THE GOVERNMENT CAN GOVERN ONLY WITH SOME LEVEL OF COOPERATION FROM THE MAJORITY HUTU POPULATION, WHICH MEANS MORE THAN TOKEN HUTU PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNANCE PROCESS. THE RPF FORMED THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY WITH THIS IN MIND, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT YET CLEAR HOW MUCH POWER THE PRIME MINISTER AND OTHER NON-RPF HUTU ELEMENTS REALLY WIELD. ON PAPER, THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY THAT WILL CONVENE FOR THE FIRST TIME ON NOVEMBER 25 COULD YIELD A MAJORITY OPPOSITION COALITION AND A HUTU ABSOLUTE MAJORITY. ON ANOTHER LEVEL, TUTSI TECHNOCRATS IN GOR MINISTRIES UNDERSTAND THAT RWANDA'S AGRARIAN-BASED ECONOMY CANNOT RECOVER UNLESS THE HUTU FARMERS RETURN TO THEIR FIELDS. EVERYONE REALIZES THAT SECURITY AND STABILITY WILL REMAIN BEYOND REACH UNTIL THE REFUGEE PROBLEM ON THE BORDERS IS SOMEHOW RESOLVED.

19. DOMINATION AND VICTIMIZATION, RECONCILIATION AND GUILT

-----  
THE RPF LEADERSHIP MAY REALIZE THE NEED TO BRING THE HUTUS INTO THE PROCESS, BUT WE DO NOT THINK THAT THEY INTEND FOR THE HUTU TO RUN IT. QUERIES TO TUTSI LEADERSHIP ABOUT EVENTUAL POPULAR ELECTIONS INEVITABLY ELICITS EVASION, CAUTIONS ABOUT MOVING DELIBERATELY AND WAITING UNTIL JUSTICE HAS BEEN SERVED AND THE MOMENT IS RIPE. TUTSI CONTACTS OUTSIDE OF GOVERNMENT ARE LESS NUANCED, MAKING IT CLEAR THAT THEY DO NOT EVER AGAIN INTEND TO FIND THEMSELVES IN A

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POSITION WHERE THE HUTU MAJORITY CAN DOMINATE THEM AND EXTERMINATE THEM IF IT SO CHOOSES. THE MOST VOCAL CLAIM THEY ARE PREPARED TO PAY THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL COST  
S  
OF KEEPING THE HUTU REFUGEES OUTSIDE OF RWANDA, IF THE CONDITIONS OF RETURN ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE.

20. OUR SOUNDINGS OF THE HUTU POPULATION HAVE BEEN LESS

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DEEP LARGELY BECAUSE SO MUCH OF THE LEADERSHIP IS IN IDP CAMPS OR ABROAD. HOWEVER, CONVERSATIONS WITH MODERATE HUTUS HERE IN KIGALI HAVE TAPPED A DEEP WELL OF RESENTMENT AT WHAT THEY PERCEIVE TO BE HARDLINE TUTSI DETERMINATION TO DOMINATE. AMPLE REPORTING FROM THE OUTSIDE CAMPS INDICATE THAT FEELINGS RUN EVEN STRONGER THERE: THE EXTREMISTS IN PARTICULAR PREFER EXILE AND EVENTUAL RENEWED WARFARE TO LIFE IN RWANDA UNDER TUTSIS AND THE RPF.

21. UNDERPINNING THIS IS THE WIDESPREAD REJECTION OF COLLECTIVE AND, IN MANY CASES, INDIVIDUAL GUILT. WHEN ONE MENTIONS THAT THE RPF INVASION IN 1990 LAUNCHED THE MOST RECENT CYCLE OF VIOLENCE, TUTSI HACKLES TEND TO RISE. THEY PORTRAY THE INVASION AS A NECESSARY MEASURE TO REDRESS THREE DECADES OF HUTU INTIMIDATION AND DISCRIMINATION, CITE THE GOOD FAITH SHOWN BY THE RPF AT THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATING TABLE, AND DECLARE THEMSELVES BLAMELESS. MODERATE HUTUS, ALMOST ALL OF WHOM SUFFERED LOSSES IN THE GENOCIDE AND WAR, CLAIM TO BE THE INNOCENT VICTIMS OF BOTH EXTREMES. REPORTING FROM THE CAMPS INDICATES THAT THE ELEMENTS THERE WHO PERPETRATED THE GENOCIDE SHOW LITTLE REMORSE FOR THEIR MISDEEDS AND MUCH ANGER AT THE TUTSIS/RPF, WHOM THEY ACCUSE OF UNJUSTLY DRIVING THEM INTO A HARSH EXILE. HEALING WILL BE HARD TO

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BROKER UNTIL SUCH ATTITUDES CHANGE. IN A WORLD OF VICTIMS WITHOUT VICTIMIZERS AND WRONGDOING WITHOUT GUILT, RECONCILIATION IS A WISHFUL WORD.

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